1: Ammar E. 1-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

to discuss the development of this concept of culture; it is sufficient only to state the ways in which the term is to be used. Wherever possible, the writer has tried to perceive culture at its three levels, the functional, the historical and the psychological.

What Malinowski expressed as the functional point of view is concerned with the interrelatedness of the various institutions, social structures, artifacts, mental and moral disciplines in the life of the human group studied. The functional approach is basically 'holistic', and culture is conceived as an integral in which the various items are interdependent.[1] As the social system is not an aggregate, but an integrated whole, 'the function of a particular usage is the contribution it makes to the total social life as the functioning of the total social system'.[2]

The second level of 'culture' is the historical; time being as important as space. Temporal factors and historical determinants have been taken into account by many of the present-day 'functionalists' for the understanding of the social present and of the phenomena of social change.[3] [175] It would have been of great value if there had been historical records about the village under study; there are even no past statistics that might indicate the historical development of such social items as population, resources, division of land and the like. For the villagers, history is mainly [173] what is contained in the memories of the living generations through oral transmission, or what is communicated by the literate section of the community, e.g. smatterings of the history of the Arabs, the Prophet and the Saints. It is obvious, however, that the village cannot be considered as a self-contained structural unit but has to be related to the forces of the national history and their repercussions, if any, on the village.[4]

In dealing with the psychological level of culture, the trend is not so clear, since this approach is relatively recent. Moreover, the issue concerning the extent to which a sociological study of this kind should extend its inquiry into the psychological field has not been fully accepted.[5] Added

as super-organic or impersonalistic, provided we are aware that they are two different levels of abstraction, with the former being prior to the latter logically and genetically. David Bidney, 'Human Nature and the Cultural Process', in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLIX, 1947, p. 380.

[1] B. Malinowski, article 'Culture' in *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* and in *Scientific Theory of Culture*, University of North Carolina Press, 1944.

[2] Radcliffe-Brown, quoted by E. Evans-Pritchard, *Social Anthropology*, London, 1951, p. 54.

[3] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 60. For a criticism of the extreme functionalists who ignore the historical dimension see A. Victor Murray, 'The Limits of Functional Anthropology', in *Overseas Education*, Vol. X, 1938–9, pp. 41–5, and Max Gluckman, 'An Analysis of the Sociological Theories of Bronislow Malinowski', *Rhodes Livingstone Papers*, No. 16, O.U.P., 1949.

[4] Julian H. Steward, *Area Research* (Social Research Science Council), New York, 1950, p. 99.

[5] The British school of Anthropology, in contrast with the American school, is on the whole reluctant to include the 'subjective' psychological phenomena of 'culture' in its

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

121 114 politics and even religion cannot always avoid conforming to lines of ethnic cleavage too closely to prove wholly effective instruments of mutual understanding. Science, on the other hand, is absolutely disinterested in spirit. Its discoveries are for the whole world to enjoy. There can be no rivalry between the nations as regards their respective shares in the creation of knowledge except in so far as it takes the form of honourable competition in the training of sound scholars. The time is doubtless coming when more Egyptians will come forward as investigators duly educated in the critical use of evidence; and they will be welcome.

121 133 144 After all, it is hard to say whether the Egyptians themselves or the rest of the world have more to gain from the study of the age-long history of Egypt and of the no less enduring individuality of its people. The country is self-contained enough, thanks to the geographical barriers that shut in the Nile Valley, to maintain a civilization answering to its own needs. Even physically the Egyptian type breeds true to itself. As often as racial intermixture occurs, the foreign strain would seem to become recessive to the point of extinction. On the other hand, Egypt is situated at the 131 179 meeting-point of three continents. It presides over the junction of the Western and Eastern water-ways of the Old World. How far its influence has extended, whether by direct or by indirect propagation, at various critical periods of history is a problem, much discussed at the present moment, on which the most distant regions may be able to throw light. Any diffusion of culture, however, tends to fade out toward its circumference, and is only to be fully understood by intensive study at the centre. In the case of Egypt it is possible to grasp the complex nature of the • 175 centrifugal force thence set in motion all the more thoroughly because there is literary as well as material evidence at the disposal of the archæologist. Silent monuments, too, often form the only yield of the spade. Even pictures speak at best in riddles. Literature, however, when it came into existence in Egypt or in Mesopotamia could in some measure disclose that ethnic psychology which alone is the key to genuine history.

181 538 Nevertheless, the psychic life of a people is but partially and imperfectly reflected in its literature. Just as in the individual the unconscious part of the mind may be supremely determinative of the total character, so in a community the non-literary and

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

THE FELLĀḤĪN OF UPPER EGYPT

CHAPTER I

EGYPTIAN VILLAGES AND THEIR INHABITANTS

THE natural barriers of Egypt (Fig. 1) have enabled the inhabtants, particularly those of the upper country, to live in comparative isolation throughout the whole of their history. On the north side lies the sea, along the east and west sides stretch vast, almost waterless deserts, while to the south ingress by way of the Nile is impeded by a series of cataracts. Their geographical isolation has doubtless been responsible for the characteristic conservatism of the Egyptian peasants. This conservatism is particularly apparent in their religious and social customs and their commoner industries, which, as will be more especially seen in the final chapter, have remained almost, if not entirely, unchanged from Pharaonic times.

The vast solitudes of the deserts are terrifying to the country folk, most of whom, up to the present day, cannot be induced to traverse even the lower fringes of those wastes after sunset (see Fig. 2). Fear of hyenas, and, still more, fear of *'afārīt*,[1] forbids any man to venture beyond the cultivation at night. The ordinary peasant, unless he is obliged to remain in the fields either to protect his crops or to watch over his sheep and goats, returns to his village before sunset, remaining there until just before the dawn of the following day.

The deserts have proved themselves valuable defences against invasion, the peoples who conquered the country at different periods of its history having usually entered it from the north-east. These invaders do not seem to have left any very marked impression on the physical aspect of the Upper Egyptians at any rate; most of these still bear a striking facial resemblance to the ancient inhabitants of the land whom we see depicted on the walls of the temples and tomb-chapels and in the portrait-statues of the Old,

[1] See Chapter XIV.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

THE FELLĀḤĪN OF UPPER EGYPT

Middle, and New Kingdoms. What really is beginning to affect the racial purity of the Egyptians is the presence among them of the descendants of negro slaves, who have been imported in large numbers by the Arabs in comparatively recent times. Many of them are now settled in certain of the villages, where they have

FIG. 1. MAP OF EGYPT

married among themselves or with the *fellāḥīn*, the result being that the population of such villages is almost entirely composed of black, or half-black, people. So far as I have observed, this negroid element is particularly marked in the Fayūm and Beni Ṣuēf, and on the edge of the cultivation in Minia and Asyūṭ provinces, where large numbers of Arabs have been settled for several generations.

The influence of the deserts may be seen in Egyptian folk-tales,

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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Upper Egypt

CHAPTER XI

MAGICIANS AND MAGIC

FROM the earliest times Egypt has been celebrated for its magicians, and accounts of their marvellous achievements have been preserved to us not only in ancient Egyptian records, but in the Bible and in the works of several of the classical writers. Furthermore, many of the tales in the famous collection of stories known as *The Arabian Nights* show what wonder-working powers were attributed to magicians in medieval Egypt. In modern Egypt also magicians abound—in fact, one or more are to be found in almost every village, and they are believed to possess exactly the same powers as did their predecessors in antiquity and in the Middle Ages.

FIG. 112. A CELEBRATED SHEIKH AND MAGICIAN

The modern Egyptian magician, who may be of either sex, is appealed to in all kinds of emergencies. Sometimes his fame has spread far beyond the confines of his own village, and urgent calls for help from distant parts of the country may cause him to travel far afield. I do not think that it is customary for female magicians to go beyond their own or neighbouring villages, but I have known more than one of the male sex whose 'practice' extended over many provinces.

Owing to his knowledge of spells and charms, which may be

3: Ayrout M-5 (ca. 1935) 1945
MR13 Fellahin MR13

Chapter 1

CHANGELESSNESS

The fellaheen (*), that is to say the country labourers of Egypt, whose life is the subject of the following chapters, represent something more than a mere class. As a uniform, autochthonous mass, which constitutes more than three quarters of the total population, they may rightly be called the people of Egypt.

This people, which produced the earliest civilisation, or at any rate a civilisation of great originality that has lasted for fifty centuries, shows exceptional powers of survival and persistence.

The fellaheen have changed their masters, their religion, their language and their crops, but not their manner of life. From the distant epochs of the Old Kingdom to the climax of the dynastic period the Egyptian people preserved and maintained itself. Under foreign domination, for years or centuries at a time, by Persians, Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Turks, French and English, it has remained unchangingly the same. Even today the fellaheen play practically no part in the Egyptian renaissance, or the movement for independence and progress.

They were at first pagans carrying totemism to the point of zoolatry, then for ten centuries Christians who reached the heights of asceticism and martyrdom. They made no difficulties about accepting Islam, and yet thirteen hundred years of Mohammedanism have done little to change their fundamental beliefs.

They are a receptive, yet resistant people; patient, but unyielding. Although they have dwelt so long at the crossroads of international traffic, in a country which has been the scene of earth-shaking events, they remain as calm and unmoved as the depths of the sea beneath a storm.

●175 The map of the world has been changed a hundred times, and with it the map of Egypt; but fundamentals have not changed and the fellaheen have remained the same.

They have taken the strain of all these changes, and never flinched. Violent and repeated shocks have swept away whole peoples, as can be seen today from the ruins of North Africa or Chaldea, which stand deserted in lands peopled by an alien race. But the fellaheen have held firm and stood their ground.

The history of Egypt includes wars and revolutions in plenty, but the people have taken no part in them. Only at one period, between A.D. 725 and A.D. 830, is there any mention of risings in the countryside. Crushed by the taxation of their Arab conquerors, the fellaheen abandoned the villages where they were born and settled elsewhere. These evasive movements became almost general, but the repression was so severe that the Copts decided upon open revolt. Six times they rose, but without unity of plan or action. Six times they were savagely put down. They are not of the stuff of which rebels are made. Moreover, even in these revolts the mass of the people remained unaffected.

[651 669]

175 178 They are as impervious and enduring as the granite of their temples, and as slow to develop, once established, as this form of art proved to be. The glimpses of their daily life which we get from the wall paintings of Pharaonic tombs or from Coptic legend, from Arab historians or the "Description of Egypt" (°), from early English researchers or the travellers of our own day, seem to form a single sequence. We get the impression that all these scenes, though separated by so many centuries, only repeat and confirm one another.

105 178 This is not merely an impression. We can see the fellah using the same implements—the plough, the *shaduf*, the *saqia*, the winnowing-fork, the sickle and the straw basket; the same methods of treating the body—tattooing, circumcision, colouring with *kohl* and henna, plucking of hair; and many of the same marriage and funeral customs. Through the pages of Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Maqrizi, Vansleb, Père Sicard and Volney we can recognise the same fellah. No revolution, no evolution.

3: Ayrout M-5 (ca. 1935) 1945
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Egypt MR1

F
162 Here is a clear instance of correspondence between
241 human concentration and physical productivity. Here, more than anywhere else, irrigation and population are co-extensive.

E The number of inhabitants must have varied in the course
F of earlier ages, but definite figures will never be known.
161 However, prehistoric discoveries give early indications of
175 density (*). In the Pharaonic period the population probably fluctuated between seven millions, the figure given by Diodorus Siculus(**), and ten millions. The writers of Christian Egypt speak of twenty millions. At the time of the French expedition, after centuries of Arab and Turkish rule, the figure fell to some two and a half millions. Jomard, basing his estimate on the number of villages and the level of production, thinks such a figure quite normal.

Later statistics were to show, however, that it was remarkably low. An equilibrium which had been destroyed by factors other than those of geography — massacres, plague and famine (***)—was not long in re-establishing itself. As Vidal de la Blache justly remarks about Egypt, 'ancient civilisations derive a remarkable elasticity from the fact that they are based on what changes least, the productive and recuperative quality of the soil.'

E In point of fact, once order and public security were
F re-established, the progressive introduction of perennial
161 irrigation and of exportable crops, by developing the possibi-
511 lities of the land, necessitated a constantly growing labour force and brought about an increase of population.

E The first detailed census, in 1873, showed 5,250,000
F inhabitants. Half a century later, in 1927, the number had
161 risen to 14,217,864. In 1937 it stood at 15,904,525. This
162 population remains closely packed on the black soil upon which it depends. Ninety-three per cent. of the Egyptians, that is to say more than fifteen million souls, dwell in the basin of the Nile, which represents only a thirtieth of the whole territory. In this narrow area the towns, overcrowded and few in number, contain scarcely more than three million inhabitants. The rest of the Egyptians are countryfolk, and almost all workers on the land, fellaheen. According to official records 62% of the men of the country work in the fields. Adding to these the women and children, who must everywhere be taken into account as active workers,

3: Ayrout M-5 (ca. 1935) 1945

MR13 Fellahin MR13

Egypt MR1

Turkish Egypt MR2

E F 423

In Egypt the productive area of about 11,000 square miles, representing a value of L.E. 435,000,000, is divided into State Lands (*miri*), entailed estates (*waḳfs*) and private property (*milk*).

The State and the Land

T F 175 656 423 651 643

In 1813 Mohammed Aly, the founder of Modern Egypt (1769-1849), after seizing the possessions of the Mamelukes, divided their lands into village districts and distributed them to the villagers. Each cultivator thus obtained from three to five feddans in usufruct. Until 1840 he was subject to the system of monopoly. He had to deliver all his cotton to the Government dépot at an official figure lower than the market price. On grain, which he was allowed to sell in the free market, he had to pay a tax of 18 piastres an *ardeb*. According to Moslem law the Sovereign — formerly the Sultan, Commander of the Faithful, but now his emancipated Viceroy — remained sole owner, in God's name, of all conquered land. However, estates conferred by former Sultans on private individuals, or granted to tax-payer farmers, and also *waḳf* property, remained outside his control. Moreover, vast areas still uncultivated were excluded from the survey, exempt (until 1858) from taxation, and allotted with full rights of ownership to notables, high officials, or members of the ruling house, who were in a position to bring them under cultivation. This is the origin of the large estates.

T F 423 651 656

Small property came into being by a slow process which began with the subdivision of the land. In 1846 a fellah enjoying the usufruct of a plot was authorised to part with it by title-deed, while still retaining without question his right to re-acquire it. In the same way, after eviction for arrears of taxes, if later he could pay off the debt he could take back his field. Later on the children of the usufructuary were allowed to take over their fathers' fields; but this was only by Government concession, not by right of inheritance.

T F 423

In 1871 Ismail Pasha, hard pressed by debt, offered full ownership of their plots to all tenants who would pay six years' taxes in advance. This law met with only partial success, and was repealed in 1880. But the principle of fellah ownership was established; and the Government con-

The Ministry of Public Works controls the irrigation of all cultivated land, settles the rotation of crops for each zone, watches over the embankments and canals, and, if the Nile threatens to break its banks, recruits the fellaheen necessary for their maintenance. 656

The Ministry of Agriculture regulates the acreage of cotton and rice, distributes and controls the selection of cotton seed, and levies the fellaheen needed to fight the boll worm or the locust.

The Ministry of Finance collects the land-tax through its *sarrafs* in each district, issues orders for seizures, buys cotton to maintain equilibrium in the home market, and by means of the *Crédit Agricole* attempts to systematise the finances of the fellah. 651 656 657

The Ministries of Education and Public Health oblige the fellah to improve his mind and his physique. 871

The Ministry of Justice, through the district courts, — and after agelong delays — condemns or acquits him. 692

The Ministry of National Defence arranges for his enlistment, or collects the exemption fine. 702

The Ministry of the Interior, acting in the common interest, supports all this network of regulations and so ensures order and public security. 656

The Government system in its present form is less than a century old. It was established by Mohammed Aly, and has changed little in its working since. He did not so much create the machinery which deals with the fellah as systematise it after the disastrous and arbitrary rule of the Turks and Mamelukes. The founder of the reigning House thus raised over the heads of the fellaheen a system of law and order which makes it possible for them, if not to progress, at least to live. 175 64

Let us examine this hierarchy from top to bottom, and consider the relations of each authority with the fellah.

First of all comes the King. The last two sovereigns (not to mention others) have sincerely desired the well-being of the fellah, and frequently given proof of this desire. Their Ministers, however, are often more occupied with politics than with government, and travel far more in Europe than in the 643 645

assign to each month its proper task. Wheat, which at that time was the main crop, is frequently mentioned, but the new-fangled cotton not at all [24].

This same calendar also regulates the Coptic ecclesiastical year, for when Christianity came to Egypt it made no change in the existing customs. The reckoning begins from A.D. 284, the first year of Diocletian's reign, called 'The Year of the Martyrs'. In actual fact, the great persecutions took place in A.D. 304.

Moslems, on the other hand, start from the *hegira*, or Flight of the Prophet (622 A.D.), and count in lunar months.

Since 1875, Egypt has officially employed the Gregorian Calendar, which is gradually penetrating everywhere. The Government has not kept the ancient Egyptian names for the months, nor has it translated the Roman names. It has simply taken over their popular adaptations as follows: - *yanayer, febrayer, mâris, abrîl, myo, yûnyo, yûlyo, oghostos* and so on. The Ministry of Agriculture works by this calendar to the exclusion of the other two, and so, if not actually used by all the fellaheen, it is understood by most of them.

At this point it will be convenient to describe the principal crops of contemporary Egypt, which are also those at which most of the fellaheen work, namely cotton, which is the main source of the country's wealth; maize and wheat, which provide its daily bread; and *berseem*, the fodder of its cattle. Of the rest we shall say only a word or two in passing.

A. THE "GARDENING" OF THE COTTON PLANT

Cotton was not unknown to the Ancient Egyptians. Some fabrics of Pharaonic times seem to be woven of cotton thread, and Pliny mentions its use. Its development in Egypt for industrial purposes took place in the mid-nineteenth century after the experiments of Jumel. Perennial irrigation, introduced about the same time, together with the increase of the population, and the advantageous openings on the English market, very soon made cotton the principal crop of the country. The world crisis of 1930, which led to a slump in cotton, forced the Egyptian Government to restrict it to a quarter of the total cultivated area. Despite

norag. This is a heavy wooden seat, supported on a rough chassis and moving on three axles armed with eleven solid sharp-edged discs for breaking up the straw. The driver sits in the chair and guides the *gamoossa* round in a circle over the ears so that the discs chop them up, while another worker throws fresh stalks under the machine. The *norag*, which is peculiar to Egypt, costs about L.E. 8. An even simpler variety without the cutting discs averages L.E. 3.

Winnowing is done, as in most Mediterranean countries, by throwing the chaff which contains the corn into the air in the direction of the wind, after it has been trampled and chopped up For this the fellaheen use a two- or four-pronged wooden fork, called a *garuf*. With one *norag* and several *garufs* they can deal with the produce of about 25 feddans.

Last of all the grain is sifted in large sieves by the women and put into sacks, jars or baskets, ready for sale.

D. Berseem

In summer cattle are fed either on chopped straw mixed with beans, or on barley ; but in winter they live on *berseem*, an Egyptian species of clover (*trifolium alexandrinum*). *Berseem* is cultivated everywhere and covers a fifth of the total acreage, for it nourishes the ground as well as the cattle by absorbing the nitrogen from the air into the soil. It provides excellent forage, grows quickly and brings good returns for a minimum of work. The fellaheen sow it between September and November, often after maize, cotton or rice, and before taking away the old stalks which serve to protect the seedlings. After fifty days or so it is ready for a first cutting, followed by four more at intervals of 35 days; the cattle graze on it as it grows Two thirds of a feddan will feed a *gamoossa*, or a quarter of a feddan a donkey, for one season.

E. Other Food Crops

There are a number of other foodstuffs which are produced by the fellah's labour from the soil of Egypt. It will suffice to mention the most important.

Rice was brought from India under the Caliphs, and is cultivated in the well-watered regions of Damietta and the Northern Delta.

144 metric research covering thousands of types both past and
174 present, concludes that the Egyptians, although not absolutely native to their present soil, are essentially Africans, of Libyan extraction, and that if there was any Asiatic infiltration, it had no influence on the race. (34)

Schweinfurth, relying on botanical evidence, believes Southern Arabia to be the source of the Egyptian race, while Amelineau, de Rougé, and (more authoritatively) J. de Morgan, who supports his theory by the comparative study of language, art, customs and physical characteristics, consider Chaldea to be a more likely source. (35)

The theory now in favour, because it is less simple, may be nearer the truth. It can be summed up thus: — In prehistoric times Asiatic invaders, perhaps Arabs or Babylonians, conquered the Nile Valley, and intermingled as the predominant race with people already established there, a composite stock of natives and Ethiopians.

This theory is a synthesis of the two earlier hypotheses, and has the advantage of taking into account facts which support both of them while allowing of the inclusion of the Egyptians in the family of *homo mediterraneus*, a compound of Semitic and Hamitic stocks which peoples North Africa, a great part of Hither Asia, and the shores of the Mediterranean, and shows, where it borders on the black races, certain affinities with the Ethiopians.

The study of profiles in ancient frescoes, and of skeletons discovered in a variety of excavations, obliges us none the less to recognise three original types: the Semites, long-skulled and of medium height; the Mediterraneans, short-skulled, with a short, straight nose; the Libyans, snub-nosed and short-skulled. But the climate and agricultural life have worn away these differences between indigenous and foreign elements and created a specifically Egyptian stock which is no less indivisible than the Nile Valley itself.

174 However all this may be, and although we may not
175 know precisely where the Ancient Egyptians came from, we can be quite sure that the present inhabitants of the country — or at least the fellaheen, and it is with them that we are concerned — are descended from the Egyptians of dynastic times, with whom they are linked without a break and almost without intermixture, despite the passage of fifty centuries and conquest after conquest from abroad.

The conditions of servitude and contempt in which the native population has been held by foreign conquerors since the decline of the Pharaohs have had the effect of preserving the race. Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Turks, French and English have in this matter all followed the same policy. They have laid hold on the riches of Egypt, and taken power in order to do so, but have neither associated with nor supplanted the fellaheen who produce the wealth. Egypt has always been too densely populated to be suitable for colonial expansion. The conquerors have never been numerous enough to modify the race of the conquered. Their manner of life has always been different, and contact with them has only aroused antagonism. 174 175

There has, however, been some penetration of nomads and negroes from near areas. After the Moslem conquest in the seventh century a number of Arabs settled in Egypt, not only in the towns but also in the countryside. As conquerors they were able to impose on the native inhabitants their language, their religion, some of their customs with regard to women, and their cruelty in vengeance. In spite of this the original inhabitants, a hundred times more numerous, especially in the countryside, with women stronger and more fertile, and a manner of life so persistent and unchanging, have marked the Arab elements with their own stamp. In establishing themselves on the black soil the Arabs adopted the traditions of those who ploughed it. This is still noticeable even today in the villages of the Upper Delta, where on account of the richness of the soil Arab immigration was heavier, and in hamlets recently settled on the edge of the desert. After three or four generations the scion can no longer be distinguished from the stock, or else it has proved too dissimilar to take the graft. Assimilation to type is in fact consequent upon assimilation of the fellah way of life. The Arabs who have remained nomadic, and live by the transport of cotton on camel-back, by pasturing flocks, or by robbery and murder,—those in fact known in Egypt as Bedouin,—differ markedly from the fellaheen by their finer features and their more excitable temperament.

Another fusion has taken place in the south, between fellaheen and negroes. Here, the two elements being more dissimilar, the mixture is more noticeable, but the Egyptian 174 175

F 144 174 175 type is dominant, and the other recessive. This absorption of neighbouring and therefore not unnaturally somewhat similar elements by a settled people of greater vigour and numbers seems a logical process. Had the invaders or immigrants arrived in millions, had they come from Germany or the Balkans, they might perhaps have imposed their own type, despite the influence of climate and way of living. But the deserts on East and West, the depth inland to the South, and the unusual character of the Nile Valley, as well as the density of the original population, have kept the country free from all mass immigrations.

Thus both geographical and historical factors have conspired to preserve the Egyptian type. The country population especially retains a facial appearance distinguishing it among the countless mixtures of the Near East.

C F 144 779 186 It has been said that the Copts are the purest representatives of the ancient stock. This is true in the towns, where the Copts are usually the original inhabitants, while the Moslems are for the most part descended from Arabs and Turks, and have married women from any and every country. Racial and physical differences are here very clear. In the country, however, this theory does not fit the facts. The fellaheen who have remained Christian and those who have become Moslems are of one and the same origin. If the former for religious reasons marry only with Christians and have thus kept the race pure, tradition has made the latter no less exclusive. The antipathy between fellaheen and Bedouin makes marriages between them extremely rare, and any union with a foreigner who may chance to live in the village is considered scandalous in the extreme.

F 142 Thus it is possible, in describing the type, to generalise without appreciable error.

The fellah is a heavily built man, though not stout. His skull and face are broad, his forehead narrow, his eyes and hair dark. He has rather prominent cheekbones, a thick nose, full but not protruding lips, and a heavy jaw. His features on the whole are rugged but not ill-favoured, and are neither very sensitive nor very expressive. His thick wrists, ankles and neck distinguish him from the supple Bedouin. His back is rounded, his shoulders not so much sloping as bent in towards the chest, and his hips narrow.

F 113

See E.W. Lane : MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE MODERN EGYPTIANS : Everyman Library.

F [192] 63a. *T.*—There seems no justification for connecting the Arabic RIF with the French RIVE.

64. In the United States, however, for example in Tennessee, cotton carnivals take place. In the town of Memphis exhibitions and processions with carts are organised for four days in May. The first festival took place in 1931, and very soon the carnival became an extremely popular holiday.

F [527 171]

See J. Taylor : TENNESSEE TABLEAUX, in THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE for May 1939.

65. Winifred Blackman : THE FELLAHIN OF UPPER EGYPT : Harrap, 1927.

66. *T.*—Retranslated from the French, which gives no reference.

67. Muhammad El-Kolaly : ESSAI SUR LES CAUSES DE LA CRIMINALITÉ EN EGYPTE : Librairie de Droit et de Jurisprudence, Paris, 1939.

F [563 443 186] 68. KHAWAGA is the usual term for a Christian merchant, generally a Greek, but in Upper Egypt often a Copt. In Cairo and Lower Egypt it is the usual word for a European. Its use implies a certain respect, and even servility.

C F [175 346] 69. *T.*—The early hermits of the Egyptian deserts were first assembled into monastic communities by St. Pachomius about 320 A.D. near the existing village of Faw, just south-west of Nag' Hammadi in Upper Egypt. There are some remains of a church, which was probably founded by him. His name, in the form BAKHOUM, is still very common in Coptic families.

See A.J.B. in THE ANCIENT COPTIC CHURCHES OF EGYPT.

70. REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMISSION ON THE DRAFT BUDGET FOR 1941-2.

71. Speech in the Chamber of Deputies, December 1939.

F 191 72. *T.*—Egyptian colloquial Arabic is as far from the language of the Koran as Italian is from Latin. In theory the written style of modern Arabic is Koranic,